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conditions would permit, to Saloniki, where an important part of their work was accomplished. Saloniki is such a melting pot at the present time, there were so many refugees there from all parts of Macedonia, and so many things have happened in that quarter of the country, that the Commission had an excellent opportunity there to take depositions and to gather information. They were aided by the consuls, by American and French Catholic missionaries, and by many who had actually been sufferers on account of the wars. To economize time, Mr. Milukoff went to Constantinople and made careful inquiries there, as well as at Adrianople and the surrounding villages, concerning the effects of the war and irregularities committed, especially by the Turks and Bulgarians. Mr. Godart journeyed to Athens to investigate there the economic conditions and consequences of the war. Mr. Brailsford continued the work in Saloniki, while Dr. Dutton took a journey with an interpreter into southern Macedonia, visiting Serres, Drama, Doxato, and Cavalla, where serious fighting occurred and where some of the most terrible atrocities were committed. The Commission finally met in Sophia and spent two weeks there taking testimony from returned prisoners, refugees, soldiers, priests, and schoolmasters, many of whom had met with all kinds of unhappy experiences either during the war or because of the unsettled conditions in Macedonia. While the Servian government objected to Mr. Milukoff because of some of his writings, and while the Greek government protested against Mr. Brailsford for similar reasons, the other members of the Commission were everywhere treated with great consideration. During Dr. Dutton's journeys in Macedonia the Greek government insisted upon providing conveyances, guards, and entertaining him at hotels during the entire trip. All this was done at the command of Governor Dragomis of Macedonia. In Sophia the Bulgarian government furnished every possible facility for the Commission, assigning persons to act as guides and assistants, furnishing automobiles and apartments in the Parliament House for the hearing of testimony. Here, as in Saloniki, the Commission came into contact with people from almost every part of the Balkan country, and gathered a mass of information much greater than they could possibly use in their report, for it has been decided to publish nothing but what has been carefully verified and attested, greatly differing in this regard from some of the newspaper articles which have been printed.

President Butler, as a director of the Department of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment, by initiating this investigation certainly intended to indict no nation, neither did he intend that the Commission should set itself up as judge. As horrible as have been many of the incidents of the war and the accompanying brutalities, we shall have to remember that it has been a war by peoples who have long cherished racial and national hatreds. We shall have also to remember that these Balkan peoples have been free from the domination of the Turks only a comparatively short time, and that they have not yet attained that kind of civilization which insures self-restraint and lawful conduct in times of stress. Neither has it been the purpose

of the Commission to bring together the longest possible list of atrocities and acts of cruelty. The true purpose, as agreed upon at the first conference held at Paris, was, we understand, to find out the causes, especially of the last war, the manner in which it was conducted, the economic, social, and moral consequences, and the prospects for future co-operation and peace. In other words, the Commission will attempt to interpret to the world a situation which is so complex and so difficult that there is the greatest danger of misconception and unjust conclusions.

The Commission was very fortunate in having as two of its working members Messrs. Milukoff and Brailsford, both of whom have not only lived several years in the Balkans, but have made, as writers and publicists, most careful study of the whole situation. Some years ago, when Mr. Milukoff was proscribed in Russia, he became a Professor of History and Political Science in the University of Sophia. During three or four years of his stay there he traveled extensively in Macedonia and studied the political and social conditions of all the countries which have been at war. Mr. Brailsford has had similar opportunities, so that the Commission has been in a position to accomplish much more, even with the cool treatment received from Servia and Greece, than could have been possible, even with the aid of the governments, if its members had been strangers in those parts.

The report ought to be especially valuable as an exposition of the political conditions leading up to the war, as well as of the peculiar and unusual emphasis laid upon nationality by the people of the several countries. The information presented touching the economic, social, and moral effects of the war will carry its own lessons, and the report as a whole, while making its appeal to civilized people the world over, should tend to stimulate especially those agencies which are working to make future wars impossible. The Carnegie Endowment is justifying its existence by proceeding in this concrete fashion to deal with the most serious of all present-day problems, and it would not be strange if the work of this Commission should prove to be an important if not the first step toward a systematic attempt to aid the Balkan peoples in reaching a higher plane of conduct in their international relations.

What is the Matter with the Militarists?

The Baroness Bertha von Suttner, whose 70th birthday was celebrated royally in various places throughout Europe June 9, said many wise things during her recent extended trip through the United States. One of the truest analyses she made was that every great reform passes through three distinct stages: first, the stage of ridicule; second, the stage of antagonism, and, third, the stage of universal acceptance. The peace movement seems now to be in the midst of the second stage. The militarists, which include all whose profit it is to rear larger and larger armies and navies, are increasingly outspoken, and at times bitter of late, in their denunciations of us whose business it is to disenthrone

the god of battles. Here are a few typical samples. Referring to a recent action of the American Peace Society, a navy journal begins: "Those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." This is a direct reference to the American Peace Society. The italics are ours. Count Gleichen, commander of the Belfast military district in England, is quoted recently as saying: "Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Carnegie, and various peace presidents who believe big armies and navies induce war can be said to be suffering from *softening of the brain*." The Count adds that he is delighted to see that the government proposes to bring forward in the next session a bill for the care of the *feeble-minded*, and he would recommend to their first charge the gentlemen whose names he had mentioned. One kindly disposed gentleman takes the pains to write to us and to call our leading editorial in the *May ADVOCATE OF PEACE* a "lie." "*A milk-fed dove of peace*" is becoming a rather common name for a pacifist. The Navy League of the United States has recently accused the American Peace Society of favoring "*disarmament irrespective of what other nations are doing*," of "*attacking Washington's peace plan*," of "*pursuing a policy which may do untold harm to our nation*," of "*believing in 'peace at any price'*," of "*educating school children away from patriotism and the spirit of willingness to die for one's country*."

General Wood, chief of staff of the United States army, relieved his mind, August 21, by calling "*universal peace talk hot-air and a little steam*;" this in a speech most appropriately delivered at a place in South Dakota called "Deadwood." The activities of the lecture bureaus, both army and navy, are increasing apace, and with them a pacifist is for the most part anathema.

Surely it would seem that we are in the midst of the "second stage" of our great reform. Would that the Baroness von Suttner, or some other prophet, could tell us when to expect the "third," because, we are perfectly willing to confess, these unsavory, wholly unjustifiable flings coming from various quarters affect us unpleasantly. We wish our friends, the militarists, wouldn't say such things. Every sign indicates that it is not the pacifist today who is mad; neither is it pacifism surely which is "*incurring the wrath of the gods*." If we may dare, What is the matter with our friends, the militarists?

The First Treaty.

Frequent reference has been made in these columns to President Wilson's peace plan. An autograph copy of the first treaty to be drawn, embodying the President's suggestions, has been furnished us by the Secretary of State. The treaty reads as follows:

"The United States of America and the Republic of Salvador, being desirous to strengthen the bonds of amity that bind them together and also to advance the cause of general peace, have resolved to enter into a treaty for that purpose, and to that end have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

"The President of the United States, the Honorable William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State, and the President of Salvador, Señor Don Federico Mejía, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Salvador to the United States;

"Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in proper form, have agreed upon the following articles:

"ARTICLE I.

"The high contracting parties agree that all disputes between them, of every nature whatsoever, which diplomacy shall fail to adjust, shall be submitted for investigation and report to an International Commission, to be constituted in the manner prescribed in the next succeeding Article; and they agree not to declare war or begin hostilities during such investigation and report.

"ARTICLE II.

"The International Commission shall be composed of five members, to be appointed as follows: One member shall be chosen from each country, by the Government thereof; one member shall be chosen by each Government from some third country; the fifth member shall be chosen by common agreement between the two Governments. The expenses of the Commission shall be paid by the two Governments in equal proportion.

"The International Commission shall be appointed within four months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, and vacancies shall be filled according to the manner of the original appointment.

"ARTICLE III.

"In case the high contracting parties shall have failed to adjust a dispute by diplomatic methods, they shall at once refer it to the International Commission for investigation and report. The International Commission may, however, act upon its own initiative, and in such case it shall notify both Governments and request their co-operation in the investigation.

"The report of the International Commission shall be completed within one year after the date on which it shall declare its investigation to have begun, unless the high contracting parties shall extend the time by mutual agreement. The report shall be prepared in triplicate; one copy shall be presented to each Government and the third retained by the Commission for its files.

"The high contracting parties reserve the right to act independently on the subject-matter of the dispute after the report of the Commission shall have been submitted.

"ARTICLE IV.

"Pending the investigation and report of the International Commission, the high contracting parties agree not to increase their military or naval programs, unless danger from a third power should compel such increase, in which case the party feeling itself menaced shall confidentially communicate the fact in writing to the other contracting party, whereupon the latter shall also be released from its obligation to maintain its military and naval *status quo*.

"ARTICLE V.

"The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; and by the President of the Republic of Salvador, with the approval of the Congress thereof; and the ratifications shall be exchanged as soon as possible. It shall take effect immediately after the exchange of ratifications,